Robert Hamill Nassau

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Translations
Troy no. 2

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THE PROPERTY OF

Robert Hamill Nassau

The Alban chiefs made an attack with a great army upon the Roman
field. They locate the camp not more than 5000 paces from the city, they sur-
round it with a ditch: the ditch was called through many ages by the nam
of the general Cluilius, until the name was abolished with the thing also by
age. In this camp Cluilius the Alban King died: the Albans create Mettius
Fufetius dictator. In the mean time Tullus fierce especially at the death of
the King, declaring that the great will of the gods, beginning at the head itself
was about to expiate punishments, on account of the impius war, on the
whole Alban name, by night, the camp of the enemy being passed, advan-
ced into the Alban field, with an hostile army That thing excited Mettius from his standing (compa
he led as near as he was able to the enemy. Thence he orders ~~to~~ messenger to be
sent before to Tullus to announce, before they might fight, need was of a col-
loquy: if a meeting might be with himself, he knew enough that he would relate
those things, which pertaned not less to the Roman than Alban government.
Tullus not despising, although vain things were related, led forth the army. The
Albans go forth on the other hand. After that they stood formed on both sides,
the generals go in the middle with a few of the nobles. There the Alban began:
"I seem to have heard our King Cluilius say that injuries and things not
returned, which were demanded according to the treaty, was the cause of this
war: nor do I doubt that you O Tullus bear the same before yourself. But if
true things are to be spoken rather than specious talking, the desire of command
stimulates two related and neighbouring people to arms. Nor, I talk rightly or
wrongly: the same deliberation was of him, who began the war. The Albans
created me ~~General~~ to carry on the war. I wish to advise you this O Tullus: the
Etrurian government may be how much especially near us and you, you are
nearer to the Tuscans, this you rather know. They are strong much by land

2 more by sea. Be thou mindful, already, when you give the sign for fight
they at the same time
that these 2 times about to be in the spectacle, as weary and worn, will attac
the conqueror and conquered. Therefor, if the gods love us, since we
not content with certain liberty, go into the doubtful chance of sla
=very or command. Let us go some way, in which, it may be able to b
decided which shall rule which, without a great slaughter, and
without much blood of either people". The thing was not displeasing to
Tullus, although as with the nature of his mind so by the hope of victo
he was more ferocious. A way was began on both sides to those seeking
and to whom fortune itself would bestow material. XXIV. - By chance th
in the 2 armies there were 3 twin brothers, unequal neither in age or ste
It is sufficiently established that they were the Horatii and Curiatii,
nor almost is any other ancient thing more noble: nevertheless an erro
=mains in so clear a thing, of the names, of which people the Horatii of which
Curiatii were: witnesses drav from both: nevertheless more I find, who call
Horatii Romans: that I may follow those, my mind inclines. The kings acc
with
the twin brothers, that they should fight with the sword each one for his own coun
there the command was about to be whence the victory would be. Nothing is o
=mied the time and place agreed. Before that they might a covenant was struc
between the Romans and Albans, with these laws, that, the citizens of that people wh
conquered, it should rule the other with good peace. Other covenants with other
laws, were made but all in that manner. So then we accepted the deed, no i
the memory of any other covenant more ancient: the fetialis thus asked King
Tullus: "do you order me, O King to strike a covenant with the pater patratus of th
Alban people?" the King ordering, said, "I demand of you, O King, herbs"? The King
said: "take up pure (herb)". The fetialis took up from the citidal a sacred herb of gra
After that, thus he asked the King: "O King, do you make me a royal messenger
the Roman people the Quirites, my vases, and my companions?" the King replied

I make you, let that be done without my brand, and of the Roman people the Quiri=
tes." The fetialis was M. Valerius. He made Spurius Fusius pater patratus, touching
his head and hair with verbena. The pater patratus was made for establishing the
oath, i.e., for rendering the covenant holy, that he performed with many words, which,
spoken with a long formula, it is not my work to relate. Thence the laws being recited
he said "hear O Jupiter, hear O pater patratus of the Alban people, hear thou, O Alban
people: that these have been recited openly first and last, from these tables or wax,
without evil design, and they have been understood rightly this day, the Roman people
will not first be wanting to these laws: if it first has been wanting in the public council
with a evil design, then do thou O Jupiter in that day, so break the Roman people, as I
will break this day, this pig, and do thou break it rather by so much, as much as you are more
powerful and strong". When he said that, he struck the pig with a flint rock. Likewise
the Albans performed their own songs, and own oath by their own dictator and own priests.

XV. The treaty being struck, the 3 twins, as soon as it was agreed, take arms. When their
own had exhorted each, that their country's gods, their country and parents, every=
thing of the citizens at home, everything that was in the army, then looked towards
the arms and hands of them, and fierce by their own nature and full by the voices of
those exhorting, they proceed into the middle between the 2 armies. The 2 armies had
sat down by the camps, free rather from present peril, than from anxiety: because
the government placed on the bravery and fortune of so few, was to be tried: therefore
on this account intent and in suspence they are bent in mind upon a spec=
tacle least grateful. The signs given, and with hostile arms, as if in array, the
youths 3 by 3, run together, bearing the minds of great armies. Neither by these nor
those observed in their minds was his own peril, but the public command and sla=
very, and the fortune of the country about to be thence, which themselves had made. As instant=
ly at the first charge the arms clanged, and a great horror struck the spectators
the glittering swords shone hope
zing inclined to neither, the voice and breath grew to rid After that the hands being exposed when already not only
notions of the body, and the doubtful shaking of the darts and arms, but wounds

4 also and blood were in the spectacle. 2 Romans fell together, expiring, on one another the
Albans being wounded. At the fall of whom the Alban army shouted for jo
already all hope, nevertheless not yet anxiety, had left the Roman legion, hea
=less in the chance of one around whom the 3 Curiatii stood. By chance he was u
=wounded, as alone he was by no means equal to all, so he was fierce against one.
Therefor that he might separate the fight of them, he took flight, so having th
about to follow, as the affected body with wounds might allow each one. Now h
had fled somewhat of space from that place, where it was fought, when lookin
back he sees them following with great intervals, one was not far off from him
upon him he returns with a great charge, and whilst the Alban army shou
to the Curiatii, that they may bear aid to the brother, already Horatius, conquero
over the slaughtered enemy, seeks a second fight. Then with a clamor, such as i
accustomed from the unexpectedness of favor, the Romans favor their soldie
Before that, the other, who was not far off was able to follow, he killed also another Curiatiu
and he hastens to finish the battle. And already, the battle being equal, single o
survived, but unequal in hope and strength: the one body untouched with a
sword, and the victory being doubled, was giving himself fierce to a third fig
the other, drawing his body wearied with wound and weary with running, and
conquered by the overthrow of his brothers before him, met the conquering enem
That was no fight: the Roman exulting said "I have given 2 to the Manes of my
brothers, I will give a third for the cause of this war that the Roman may commar
the Alban:" he thrust the sword from above in the throat to him scarcely sustai
his arms, he spoils him lying down. The Romans triumphing and congratulati
Horatius recieve him with that greater joy, by which the thing had been near
fear. Thence they are turned, with by no means equal minds, to the burial of their c
because the one were increased with command, the other were become of a foreign
power. The sepulchres remain in which place each one fell, 2 Romans in one
place near Alba, 3 Albans towards Rome but distant in places, as it was fou
XXVI. Before that they should depart thence, Tullus commanded, to Mettius as=

-ing, what he would command according to the compact, that he may have the youth
n arms: that he would use the work of them if war would be with the Veientes. So the
mies were led home. Horatius was going first, bearing before himself the 3 turns spoils:
whom his virgin sister, who had been betrothed to one of the Curiatii, was in the way
efore gate Capena: and the cloak of her betrothed being recognised above her brothers shoulders
hich herself had made, by loosed her hair and dolefully called upon her dead betrothed by
ame. The lamenting of his sister moved the mind of the fierce youth, upon his own vic=
ory and so great public joy: therefore his sword being drawn, at the same time taunt=
ing her he killed the girl: "go hence" he said "with your unseasonable love to your be=
trothed forgetful of your brothers dead and living, forgetful of your country: ~~so be [illegible]~~ so
ach ~~a~~ thus woman who bewails an enemy". That seemed an atrocious deed to the fathers
nd people: but the recent merit stood in the way of the deed. Nevertheless according
law he was taken to the king. The king that he might not be the author of so sad and
ngrateful a judgment to the people, and of the punishment consequent on
he judgment, a council of the people being called, he said, "~~determining~~ according to the law
make duumvirs who may judge murder to Horatius". The law was of a horrid form
the duumvirs judge a murder: if he may appeal from the duumvirs, strive with
he appeal, if they conquer, veil his head, hang him with an halter in a bare tree,
eat him either within or without the pomerium." When the duumvirs, created by this
aw, ~~and did not~~ think themselves able to acquit him even if innocent had con=
demned him then another from them, said "I judge a murder to you Publius Hora=
tius: lictor bind his hands". The lictor had approached and was throwing a rope.
hen Horatius said "I appeal", Sullus being his advisor a eloquent interpreter of law.
o it was contended concerning the appeal to the people. The men were moved dur=
ing that judgment specially the father to Publius Horatius proclaiming that he
judged his daughter killed by right; unless it was so he had judged his son by
fathers law. Hence he prayed that they would not make him destitute of children
hom a little before they had seen with a noble race. During these things the old man

o) having embraced the youth, showing the spoils of the Curiatii fixed in that p
which now is called Pila Horatius said "can you see him who lately was walk
decorated and triumphing in victory, O Romans, him are ye able to see bound u
the furca between beatings and torments, which so unsightly a spectacle the eyes
the Albans were scarcely able to bear? go, lictor bind his hands, which a little be
=fore armed obtained the command for the Roman people: go veil the head o
the liberator of this city: hang him on a bare tree: beat him either ~~within~~ the p
=merium — only between this pillar and the spoils of the enemy — or without t
pomerium — only between the graves of the Curiatii. For wither are ye able to lea
this youth, where his own glory do not judge him from the foulness of this punis
=ment?" Therefore that the manifest slaughter might be washed away by some ex
=ation, it was ordered to the father that he should expiate his son with public money.
The people did not bear the tears of the father, nor the equal mind of him in all thi
peril. and they absolved him, more by the admiration of his bravery than by the justness of
cause. By certain expiatory being made with sacrifices, which thence have been hand
down to the race of Horatia, a beam being laid across the way, the head being covered
sent the youth as if under a yoke. That to this day also remains renewed always from
public expense. they call it the sisters beam. The sepulchre of Horatia was built
with a square stone in the place where being struck she fell. XXXII. Tullus being d
the government, as it was already instituted, returned to the fathers, and they nam
an interrex: who having assembly, the people created Ancus Marcius King: the fa
were advisers. Ancus Marcius was the grandchild of King Numa Pompilius, bo
from his daughter: who as he began to reign, both mindful of his grandfathers
glory, and because the last reign — not be in certain things — from another part h
not been sufficiently prosperous, either by neglecting religion, or being badly se
and having thought it the most worthy by far to do the public rights as the were in
=stituted by Numa, orders the pontifex to propound them all from the comm
taries of the King, brought faith in public upon a white tablet. Thence a hope was

made both to the citizens desirous of rest and to the neighboring states, that the king
was about to go in the manners and institutes of his grandfather. Therefore the Latins
with whom, Tullus reigning a treaty had been struck, sustained their minds: and
when they had made an incursion upon the Roman field, they returned an answer
insolently to the Romans demanding satisfaction, that they thought the idle Ro-
man king was about to carry on the kingdom among temples and altars. The nature
in Ancus was middle, mindful both of Numa and Romulus: and, besides because
he thought peace was more necessary in the reign of his grandfather, when in a
new then in a barbarous people, that peace which had fallen to him, he was not
to have that easily without injury: that patience should be tried. and being
tried should be despised, the times should be more apt to the reign of Tullus than
to Numa. That nevertheless, since Numa had instituted religions in peace, warlike
ceremonies should be shown by himself: not only should wars be carried on, but also should
be declared by some rite, he wrote out a law, which now the fetiales have — from an ancient race the Æquicoli, which now the
fetiales have, by which the things might be demanded. The messenger, when he comes to the
boundaries of them, whence things were demanded, his head being covered with a string — the
veil is of wool — says "hear, Jupiter, hear boundaries," — of whatever nation they are he names
them — "hear justice: I am the public messenger of the Roman people: I a messenger
come justly and piously, and faith may be in my words." After that he goes through
the demands. Thence he makes Jupiter witness: "if I unjustly and impiously demand
these men and these things to be given to me, then never allow me to be a partaker of
the country." He goes through these, when he crossed the boundaries, these, whatever man first
met him, these, entering the gate, these, having entered the forum, a few words of the prescribed
form and oath being changed. If they were not surrendered, which he demanded, 33 days
being finished — for so many were accustomed —, thus he declared war: "Hear Jupiter
and thou Janus, O Quirinus and all gods celestial, and ye terrestrial, and ye infernal
ones hear: I call you to witness, that this people" — whoever it is, he names it — "is unjust nor
performs justice. But concerning these things we will consult the elders in the

country, by what agreement we may obtain our right?" With these the messengers returned to Rome to consult. Immediately the King consulted the fathers also in these words: "of what things, stripes, causes, the pater patratus of the Roman people the Quirites declared to the pater patratus of the Prisci Latini, and the Prisci Latini men, which things they neither gave nor payed nor did, what they say, it is right should be given, paid, done" he said to him, who first asked his opinion "what do you think?" Then he: "I think them sought in a pure and pious war, therefore I agree and vote for it." Thence the others were asked in order, whence the greater part of them, who were present went in that opinion, war was agreed upon. It was accustomed to be done, that the fetiales bore an iron spear or a bloody one burnt on the point, and not less than 3 adults being present should say: "because the people of the Old Latins and the Old Latin men have done, and are in the wrong to wrong the Roman people the Quirites, because the Roman people the Quirites order war to be with the Old Latins, and S.P.Q.R. agree to, vote for, think, that war may be with the Old Latins, on account of that thing; I and the Roman people make and declare war with the people of the Old Latins and with the Old Latin men." When he had said that, he hurled the into their boundaries. Then by this model they were demanded and war declared; and the posterity recieved this manner. XXIII. Ancus, the cares of the temples being handed over to the flamens and other priests, a new army being enlisted, having gone forth took by force Politorium a city of the Latins, and having followed the manner of former Kings, who had increased the Roman government by recieving into the state the enemies, he transferred the whole multitude to Rome: and, when the Sabines had filled Capitolinus and the citadel, around the Palatine, the seat of the old Romans, the Albans mount Celius, Aventinus was given to the new multitude. To it not so much after, new citizens were added, Tellenae and Ficana being taken. Hence Politorium again was sought in war because the Old Latins had occupied it empty: and that was a cause to the Romans of destroying that city, lest it always should be a receptacle of enemies. Lastly, at

e Latin war being brought to Medullia, there for some time the war being uncertain, t was fought with various victory, for both the city being safe with fortifications, nd ~~it was~~ firm with a strong guard, and the camp being placed in a open space, ometimes the Latin army bore the signs hand to hand with the Romans: at last, Ancus having striven with all the faces, conquered first in line, thence, powerful ith great booty, he returned to Rome, then also many 1000s of Latins being recieved nto the state; to whom, that Aventinus might be joined to Palatium, residences ere given at the temple of Murcia. Janiculum was joined, not by the need of lace, but lest sometime it might a citidal of the enemies. That, it pleased to be joined to the city not only by a wall, but also, by a bridge then first made across the Tiber, n account of the convenience of journey. Also the ditch of the Quirites, not less a defence rom the more ~~basal~~ places to be come at, was a work of King Ancus. The things being increased by the great improvement, when in so great a multitude of men, they did ightly a wrongly in a confused discrimination, secret deeds were done, a prison was uilt near the forum, for a terror of the increasing boldness, in the midst of the city. Nor did the city only increase by this King, but also the field and boundaries: the Moesian ood being taken from the Veientes, even to the sea was the command carried, and Ostia city was built upon the mouth of the Tiber: salt-pits were made around, and the things being carried on nobly in war, the temple of Jupiter Feretrius was entanged.

XXIV. Ancus reigning, Lucumo a man ready and powerful in riches, emigrated to Rome, especially by the desire and hope of great honor, of obtaining which at Tarquinii — for there also he had arisen from a facign race — facultly was not. He was the son of Demaratus the Corinthian, who, having fled on account of the dissentions at home when by chance had sat down at Tarquinii; there a wife being taken, begat 2 sons. The names to them ere Lucumo and Arunx. Lucumo survived his father, the heir of all the goods, Arunx lied before the father, his wife being left pregnant. Nor did the father remain long urviving the son: who when ignorant that his daughter-in-law bore the womb, had lied in mindful of his grand-child in his willing, the name was put to the boy

10 Egerius from his poverty, after the death of his grandfather, in no fortune of the good
When already riches had made minds to Lucumo, the heir of all the goods, Tanaqu
being led in marriage increased them, being born in the highest place, and who
not easily allow them more humble, in which she had intermarried, to those in w
she had been born. The Etrurians spurning Lucumo, as born from a foreign exile
she was not able to bear the indignity, and forgetful of the natural love of cou
only, whilst she might see her husband honored, she took counsel to move from
Tarquinii. Rome seemed best for that: in a new people, where every nobility was
sudden and from virtue, it was about to be the place for a ready and active m
Tatius the Sabine had reigned, Numa had been raised to the government from
Cures, and Ancus had arisen from a Sabine mother, and was nobly one imag
of Numa. Easily she persuades, to him as desirous of honor, and the country a Tar=
=quinii was only material: therefore the things being taken up, they emigrate to Ro
By chance it was come to Janiculum: there to him, sitting with wife in the chario
an eagle being sent down lightly with suspended wings, took away the hat, and f
=ing above the chariot with a great noise, again, as if sent on the mission divine,
replaced it aptly to the head: thence it went to the sky. Tanaquil is said to have
received that augury joyful, ~~being~~ a woman learned, as the Etrurians commonly are, of
celestial prodigies: having embraced her husband she orders him to hope for excel=
=lent and high things: that that bird had come a messenger from that region
of the heaven and that god, that it had made an omen about the highest pa
of the man, had lightened the glory placed above the human head. that it migh
return it divinely to the same. Bearing these hopes and thoughts with them=
=selves, they entered the city and there a house being prepared, they gave out
name Lucius Tarquinius Priscus. His nearness and riches made him conspic
=uous to the Romans, and he favored fortune by conciliating to himself whom he
was able by his kind address, by the civility of inviting, and by benefits; until the
fame also concerning him was brought to the palace: and in a short time he induc

not notice in the laws of family friendship by performing office to the King liberally and dexterously that he was present equally in public and private counsels in war and at home, and expert in all things; finally also he was appointed by the will of the King guardian to his children. XXXV. Ancus reigned 24 years, equal to any of the former King in glory and the arts of war and peace. Already his sons were near the age of puberty: by that Tarquinius began to be earnest the more that before it they might have an assembly for creating a King. Which being declared, for the time he sent away the boys to hunt: and he first both earnestly sought the kingdom and is said to have had a speech composed for conciliating the minds of the common people, when he said, that he did not seek a new thing, ~~because~~ which any one might be indignant or would wonder at since he was not the first, but the third foreigner who might desire the kingdom of Rome: and Tatius was made King, not only from a foreigner, but also from an enemy, and Numa ignorant of the city, not seeking, had been willingly sent for the kingdom: that he, from what time he had been his own master, had emigrated to Rome with his wife and all his fortunes: that he had lived the greater part of that life, which men finish in civil affairs, at Rome than in the old country: that he had learned the Roman laws, the Roman rites at home and abroad under a master not to be repented of — King Ancus himself: that he had vied in officiousness and observance towards the King with all, in kindness toward others with the King himself. The Roman people order him declaring these true things, to reign. A certain ambition ~~followed toward the~~ noble man which he had in seeking followed the man noble as to other things also when reigning: no less mindful of ruining his own kingdom, than of increasing the public state, he chooses 100 fathers, who after that were called of the lesser families, not a doubtful faction of the King, by the kindness of whom they had come into the curia. First he carried war with the Latins, and there took by force the town Apiola: and booty being carried thence greater, than as much fame had been of battle, he made plays more richly and elegantly than former kings. Then first the place was designated

For the circus which now is called greatest: places were divided for the fathers o knights, where each one made platforms for himself, were called foi: the looke on the platforms being 12 feet high from the earth by sustaining props: the play was expe the horsemen and wrestlers being sent for from Etruria: thence the accustomed annual play remained, they were called variously Roman and great. By the same king places were divided around the forum to be built up by privat persons, a gallery and shops were made: XXXIX... In that time there was prodigy and wonderful to be seen in the event, in the palace: to a boy sleeping, whose name was Servius Tullus, they say that his head burned in the sight of many. Therefore much clamor having arisen, the kings were excited to the mir of so great a thing: and when a certain one of the servants brought water for extinguishing it, he was held back by the queen: and already the tumult being calmed she forbade the boy to be moved, until he should awake of hi own accord: soon with sleep the flame went away. Then, Tanaquil her huban being led in secret said: "did you see this boy whom we have educated i so humble a manner? it is lawful to know that he hereafter will be a light to our doubtful affairs and a guard to the royalty thrown down: after the we will nourish the material of a great glory publicly and privately: glory wit all our indulgence." Hence the boy began to be had free in that place an to be learned in the arts, by which the natures are excited to the culture of great fortune. It happens easily, what might be in the heart of gods: the youth truly turned out of a royal nature, now, when a son-in-law was sou by Tarquinius, was an of the Roman youth able to be compared in any art to him, and to hi the king betrothed his daughter. This so great hono had to him, from what ever cause, prohibits to believe that he was born from a slave, and that h himself had served when young. I am rather of the opinion of them who say that Caniculum being taken, the wife of Servius Tullus - who had bee

the chief in that city – pregnant by her dead husband, when she was known by her excellent nobility being prohibited from slavery by the Roman queen, brought forth a child at Rome in the house of Tarquinius Priscus: thence by so great kindness both the familiarity being increased, between the women, and the boy, bred up in the house from a child, had been in affection and honor: the fortune of his mother, because the country being taken she had come into the hands of the enemies, makes that he was believed born from a slave. XLv.

Almost in the 38th year, in which Tarquinius had began to reign, Servius Tullius was by far in the greatest honor not only with the King but with the father and common people. Then the 2 sons of Ancus, although always before they considered it for a most unworthy thing, that they were driven from the paternal government by the fraud of their tutor, that a stranger not only to the neighboring place but not even of an Italian race, then the indignation began to grow more earnestly to them, if the government would not to them even from Tarquinius, but would fall farther downwards to servitude, so that in the same state about a 100 years after that Romulus, born from a god, himself a god, had held the government, whilst he had been in the lands, Servius born from a slave was about to possess it: when that was about to be a disgrace in general of the Roman name, then especially of their own house, if, sons of King Ancus being live, the government of Rome should lie open not only to strangers, but also to slaves. Therefore they determine to stop that disgrace by the sword: but both the grief of the injury stimulated them rather against himself Tarquinius than against Servius: and because the King was about to be a heavier revenger of the taught, if he remained, than a private person: then, Servius being killed, he would choose some other son-in-law, he seemed about to make the same an heir of the Kingdom. On account of these plots were prepared for the King himself: 2 very fierce ones of the shepherds being chosen for the deed, with what rural weapons they both were accustomed, in the court of the

palace as tumultuously as they were able, by an appearance of a dispute they turn all the royal attendants toward themselves: thence when both rush to the King, and their clamor was heard within the palace being called they go toward the King. At first both vociferated and earnestly shouted one to the other, being compelled by the lictor, and being ordered to speak in turn, at length they ceased to interrupt: one began the thing from the plan: whilst the King might turn himself wholly intent upon him, the other threw a raised axe into his head, and the weapon being left in the wound they both threw themselves out of doors. XLI. When those who were around had delivered Tarquinius dying, the lictors arrested them fleeing. Thence there was a clamor and concourse of people wondering, what might be the matter. Tanaquil during the tumult orders the palace to be shut, she threw out the judges: at the same time, she diligently prepares what are a need for curing the wound, as though hope was at hand: at the same time, if hope had left, she prepares other guards. When she showed her almost lifeless husband to Servius called suddenly, she prays holding his right hand, that he would not allow the death of his father-in law to go unpunished, nor his mother in law to be for a mockery to enemies: she said, "the Kingdom is yours, O Servius, if you are a man, not theirs who did the worst deed by foreign hands: arise, and follow the gods as leaders, who portended this head about to be noted sometime by the divine fire burning about it: now let that flame excite thee, now awake truly: we also foreign new have reigned: think who you are, not whence you were born: if your counsels are dull by the sudden event, at least follow my counsels." When the clamor and rush of the multitude was scarcely able to be sustained, from the higher part of the temple through the windows, turned toward the new way — for the King lived at the temple of Jupiter Stator — Tanaquil addresses the people: she orders to be in good mind: that the King

had been stunned by the sudden blow: that the iron had not descended far in the last, already he had returned to himself: that all was well. The wound was seen the blood being washed off: that she trusted, they would see him in a near day. In the mean time she orders the people to be hearing to the word of Servius Tullius: that he was about to return and perform the rites and other offices of the king. Servius shows himself with a rebe and lictas, and sitting in a royal seat decides some things, concerning others he feigns that he is about to consult the king: and so through some days, when already Tarquinius ~~the king~~ had died, his death being concealed, framed his own power by the appearance of performing the duty of another. Then at length it was made open: and a lamentation having arisen in the palace, Servius, being strengthened by a firm guard, first acquired by the will of the fathers unbidden of the people. The children of Tarquin already then the ministers of the crime being arrested, as it was announced that the king lived and great power was for Servius, went to Suessa Pometia to be in exile. XLV. The state being increased by the magnitude of the city, all at home being formed to the uses of war and peace, lest power should be always by arms acquired, endeavored to increase the government by counsel, and at the same time to add some glory to the city. Already then the temple of Diana Ephesia was celebrated. Report said that that was made by the states of Asia in common. Servius began to praise wonderfully that will and the gods associated among the chiefs of the Latins, with whom publicly and privately he had industriously joined hospitality and friendship: by going over the same often, at length he compelled that the Latin people should make with the Roman people a temple of Diana at Rome. That was an acknowledgement, that Rome was the head of government, concerning which it had been so often tried in arms. Although already it was omitted from the eyes of all the Latins, it seemed more unhappily on account of the thing fought so often in arms, fortune seemed to give herself to one of the Sabines of obtain=

ing the command by private counsel. An heifer was said born to a certain father of a family among the Sabines, with a wonderful size and appearance. The horns were fixed for many ages in the vestibule of the temple of Diana as a monument of the wonder. Had, as it was, the thing is in the place of a prodigy, and the prophet prophesized, that the citizens of that state who sacrificed her to Diana, there the command would be: and that prophecy came to the priest of the temple of Diana. And the Sabine, as the first day seemed fit for a sacrifice, led the cow driven to Rome to the temple of Diana, and placed her before the altar. The Roman priest, when the size of the victim had moved him by the celebrated fame, mindful of the responses, thus addresses the Sabine: he said, "why do you, a stranger, prepare unpurified, to make sacrifice to Diana? why do you not first wash in flowing waters? the Tiber flows in the bottom of the valley." The stranger touched by religion, who desired all things to be done rightly, that the event might respond to the prodigy, immediately descended to the Tiber, in the mean time the Roman sacrificed the cow to Diana. That was wonderfully grateful to the king and state. XLVI. Servius, although already by age he possessed not a doubtful kingdom, never the less, because now and then he heard voices thrown by the youth Tarquinius, that he reigned unbidden of the people, first the will of the plebians, being conciliated, the land taken from the enemies being divided man to man, dared to bring to the people, whether they wished and ordered him to reign: by a great consent, as much as none other before, he was declared king. Nor did that thing diminish the hope to Tarquinius of obtaining the kingdom: yea rather by it more eagerly, because he knew it was acted concerning the land of the plebians adverse to the will of the fathers, he thought an occasion was given to himself of criminating Servius and of growing with the fathers in the senate, — the youth was both himself of an ardent mind, and at home his wife Tullia stimulating his enquiet mind

For the Roman palace also bore an example of a tragic crime, that liberty came
more mature by the weariness of kings, and it ~~should~~ be the last kingdom, which
might be born in crime. This Lucius Tarquinius — whether he was the son or grand=
child of King Tarquinius Priscus, is little evident: however I with most authors
publish him a son — had a brother Aruns Tarquinius a youth of a mild na=
ture. To these two, as before it was said, the two Tullias' daughters of the King
were married, themselves also very unequal in natures. By chance it so happen=
ed, that two violent natures were not joined in marriage; by the fortune, I
believe, of the Roman people, wherefor the kingdom of Servius should be for a longer
time, and the manners of the state would be able to be established. Fierce Tullia
was vexed, that there was no material in her husband neither for desire nor
braveness: she was wholly turned toward the other Tarquinius, she admired
him, she said that he was a man and had risen from royal blood, she de=
spised her sister, because having obtained a man she yielded with wom=
enly daring. The likeness drew them together more quickly, as almost an evil
becomes most apt for evil: but the beginning of disturbing all things began
from a woman: she was accustomed in secret conversations with another man
to spare no slanders of words concerning her husband to his brother, concerning
her sister to her husband: and she contended that it was about to be better
that she had been unmarried and he single, than to be joined with an
unequal, that it was about to languish by an other weakness: if the gods
had given that husband to her, by whom she might be worthy, that she saw
the kingdom would be in a short time at home, which she saw with her father.
More quickly she fills the youth with her own temerity: Lucius Tarquinius and
Tullia the less with funerals almost at the same time made the houses vacant
for a new marriage, they were joined in marriage — Servius rather not pro=
hibiting than approving. XLVII. Then truly daily the age of Tullius began to

be more unhappy, the Kingdom more unhappy: for already the woman began to look from crime to other crime, nor did she suffer her husband to rest day or night, lest the past parricides might be unavailing: that she did not want to whom she was said to be married, to whom she might serve mildly: she wanted one who thought himself worthy for a Kingdom, who remembered that he was the son of Tarquinius Priscus, who would rather have the Kingdom than hope for it. "if thou art he, to whom I think myself married, and call husband and King, but if not, now by that the thing is changed for the worse, because here is crime with cowardice. But what are you ready for? it is not necessary that a foreign Kingdom be obtained for thee from Corinth, nor from Tarquinia, as for your father: the country gods and penates, and ancestral image, and a royal house, and the throne in the palace, and the name Tarquinius create and call you a King. Or if there is little of mind for this—why do you deceive the state? why do you allow yourself to be considered as a royal youth? go home to Tarquinii or Corinth, turn back to your origin, more like to your brother than father." By taunting with these and others she instigates the youth, nor was she hereby able to rest, if, when Tanaquil, a foreign woman had been able to build so much in her mind, that she had given two successive Kingdoms to her husband, besides to her son in law, they, risen from royal stock, had no influence in giving and taking away the government. Tarquinius being aroused by the womanly instigations, went around and solicited, the fathers especially of the lesser families, admonished them of his paternal kindness and for that demanded favor, he enticed the youths by gifts, as he increased by promising great things concerning himself, so also in all places by the charges of the King: finally, as already time of pushing on the thing seemed, being guarded by a band of armed persons, he rushed into the forum: thence, all being struck with fear, sitting in the royal seat in the senate house, he ordered the fathers to be called by the crier into the senate to King Tarquinius. Immediately they came

gether, some already prepared before for this, others by fear, lest it might be
on their injury not to come, being astonished by the newness and wonder,
they also thought it already done for Servius. There Tarquinius, having began
to wit speaking from the lowest race; said, that he servant and born of a
servant after the unnatural death of his own father, not by an interregnum entered
into as before, not by having assemblies, not by the vote of the people, not by
the fathers as approvers - had occupied the kingdom by a womanly gift: thus
from thus created king, a favorer of men of the lowest race, from which he himself
was, by the hatred of the respectability of another, had divided the land from
chiefs to each the meanest: all the burdens, which formerly were common, he
turned upon the chiefs of the state: had instituted a census, that the fortune of
the more wealthy might be marked and prepared for envy, whence, when he wished
to might bestow to the poorest. XLVIII. When Servius had come during this oration,
being excited by a message causing fear, immediately from the court of the senate
house with a loud voice said, "what is the matter here O Tarquinius? by what audacity
to you, I living, dare to call the fathers, or to sit in my chair?" when he answered
fiercely to these, that he held the seat of his father, much better son of a king an heir of the kingdom, than a slave
that he for a sufficiently
long time had insulted his masters by mocking his licence: a clamor arose from
the favorers of each: and a rush of the people was made into the senate house,
and he appeared about to reign, who conquered. Then Tarquinius - even al=
ready necessity compelling him to dare the last things - much stronger both by age
and strength, seized Servius in the midst, and threw him carried from the
senate into the lower part down the steps: thence he returned into the senate
house for assembling the senate. There was a flight of the attendants and
companions of the King: he himself almost lifeless, when he betook himself
home without a royal attendance, was killed, by those, who sent by Tarquinius
had followed him fleeing. It is believed, because it does not differ from the
other crime, that that was done by the advice of Tullia: certainly - that is

Sufficiently established—being carried into the forum in a chariot, noting the assemblage of men, she called forth her husband from the senate house and first called him King: when she had betaken herself home being ordered by him to go away from so great a tumult, and had come to the top of the Cyprian street, where lately the temple of Diana was, he who drove the horses, trembling stopped and drew in the reins, and shewed to his mistress turning the chariot on the right toward the Urbian ascent, so that she might be carried toward the Esquiline hill, Servius lying murdered. The cruel and inhuman deed is handed down thence, the place is for a monument—they call it the Wicked Street—, where Tullia crazy by the agitating furies of her sister and husband, is said to have driven the chariot over the body of her father, and to have born a part of the blood and slaughter of her father on the bloody chariot, and horribly stained and sprinkled, to her own penates and those of her husband, which being indignant, results like the evil beginning of the government soon followed. Servius Tullius reigned 44 years so, that even to a good and moderate succeeding King emulation is difficult: but that also approaches to glory, because with him at the same time just and legitimate kingdoms fell: however there are certain infamous who say, that he had it in his mind to lay down that so mild and moderate kingdom itself, because it was of one; had not enormous crime intervened to him agitating counsels for liberating the country. XLIX. Theme Lucius Tarquinius began to reign, to whom his deeds gave the surname Proud, because the son in law prohibited the father in law from funeral declaring that Romulus had also gone away unburied, and he killed the chief of the fathers, whom he thought had favored the things of Servius. After that considering, that an example of evilly seeking the kingdom would be able to be taken from himself against himself, he hedged in his body with armed persons: for neither had he anything except force for a right of the kingdom as he reigned neither by the command of the people, nor by the fathers as author

It was added to that, that there was no hope to him relying on the affection of the citizens that the Kingdom would be safe by fear: that he might strike which so many, alone by himself he made trials of capital things without counsel and on that account was able to kill, to banish, and to fine with the goods, not only those suspected or hated, but whence he was able to hope nothing less, than booty. Especially so the number of the fathers being diminished, he ordered to choose more for fathers, by which the order itself became more contemptable by the fewness, and they would be less indignant that nothing was acted by themselves. For he first of the Kings broke the manner handed down from the first of consulting the senate concerning all things, he administered the public things by domestic counsels: he made and broke war, leagues, treaties, affiances himself by himself, with whom he willed, unbidden of the people and senate. He conciliated especially the nation of the Latins, that he might be safer also by foreign powers among his citizens; neither did he join hospitalities only among their chiefs but affinities also: to Octavius Mamilius Tusculanus — he was by far the first of the Latin nation, if we believe report, born from Ulysses and the goddess Circa — to this Mamilius he gave his daughter in marriage, and by those nuptials conciliated many relations and friends of him to himself.

III. As he was an unjust King in peace, so he was not a bad general in war: but he might have equalled the former Kings, had not his degeneracy in other things hindered also to this glory. He first moved war against the Volsci, which lasted more than 200 years after his own age, and took from them by force Suessa Pometia. There when in selling the booty he had gained 40 talents of silver, he conceived in his mind the enlarging of a temple of Jupiter, which would be worthy of the King of gods and men, which would be worthy of the Roman government, which would be worthy of the greatness of the place itself: he separated the

22 captive money for the building of the temple. LVI. - Intent on finishing the temple, workmen on all sides being called from Etruria, he not only used the public money for that, but also the labors of the people. When which not small labor of service it well might be added, however the people would be less vexed, that they built temples of the gods with their own hands, than after that they would be led out to other works, as less in appearance, so sometimes in greater labors, seats to be made in the circus, and a great sewer, the receptacle of all the filth of the city, to be led under ground: scarcely can this modern magnificence equal anything of those two works. The people being exercised by these labors, both because he thought the multitude was a burden to the city, when there was no need, and because he wished the bounds of the empire to be occupied by sending out colonies, he sent colonies to Signia and Circei, they being about to be guards by land and sea. There was a prodigy, terrible to be seen, to him carrying on these things: a snake, having fallen from a wooden column, when it had made terror and flight into the palace, not so suddenly struck the breast of the king himself with fear, than it filled it with anxious cares. Therefore when Etrurian prophets only were employed for the public prodigies, as if frightened by this domestic sight, he ordered to send to the oracle, especially celebrated in the lands, at Delphi: nor did he dare to commit the responses of the lots to any other, sent his 2 sons through lands unknown in that time, through ~~snow~~ unknown seas, into Greece. Titus and Arruns journied: Lucius Junius Brutus was added to them as a companion, born from Tarquinia the sister of the king, a youth by far different in nature, than of which he had feigned a simulation. When the ~~chiefs of the~~ state, among whom he heard his brother had been killed by his uncle, to be determined to leave nothing in his mind to be feared to the king, no

to be desired in fortune, and he would be safe in contempt, where there was little safety in justice. Therefore industriously having to the feigning of foolishness, when he allowed himself and his to be for a sport to the King, also he did not deny the surname of Brutus, that, under the disguise of that surname, that latent mind the liberator of the Roman people could "bide its time." Then he being led from Tarquinii to Delphi — more truly a laughing-stock than a companion — is said to have borne as a gift to Apollo a golden staff enclosed in an horn staff hollowed out for that, an image of his nature by poetic figures. After that it was come thither, the commands of their father being performed, the desire entered the minds of the youths of knowing, to which of them the Roman kingdom was about to come. They say that a voice was returned from the lowest cave: "he will have the highest command of Rome, who first of you, O youths, bears a kiss to his mother." As Tarquinius Sextus, who had been left at Rome, was ignorant of the response and destitute of command, they order the thing to be kept silent with the greatest power: they among themselves, when they had come to Rome, trust to lot, who first gave a kiss to his mother. Brutus having thought that the Pythic voice took to a different meaning, having fallen as if he had slipped, touched the earth with his lips, truly, because that may be the common mother of all mortals. Thence it is returned to Rome, where a war against the Rutuli was prepared with the greatest power. LVII.

The Rutuli had Ardea, a nation, as in that region and in that time, very powerful in riches: and that was the very cause of the war, because when the Roman king himself studied to be enriched, having been exhausted by the magnificence of the public works, then he studied to ease, by begging, the minds of the populace, hurtful to the kingdom also by his other pride, because they would be indignant that they were had by the king for so long a

time in the service of workmen and in servile work. The thing was tried, & Ardea would be able to be taken at the first charge: when that proceeded a little, the enemies began to be pressed by siege and fortifications. In these ordering camps — as it happens in a rather a long than a sparse war — the furlows were sufficiently free, however more to the chiefs than the soldiers: certain royal youths in the meantime spent the leisure in feasts and revelings among themselves. By chance in those drinking with Sex. Tarquinius, when also Collatinus Tarquinius, the son of Egerius, feasted, mention happened concerning their wives: each praised his own in a wonderful manner: thence a contest having risen, Collatinus denies, that there is need of words, indeed that it could be able to be known in a few hours, how much his own Lucretia excelled the others: "if there is vigor of youth, why not mount the horses and being present see the natures of our own? That may be most worthy which may meet the eyes at the unexpected coming of the husband." They were heated with wine: all cry, "Gamthen": they fly on swift horses to Rome. When they had come thither, at the first lengthening shadows, thence they go to Collatia, where they find Lucretia, by no means as the royal daughters-in-law, whom they found spending the time in feasting and luxury with the equals, but sitting late at night in the middle of the house being given to wool among her maids working at night. The praise in the womanly contest was in the possession of Lucretia. Her husband coming and the Tarquinii were received kindly: the conquering husband invites the royal youth: in it there an evil lust of dishonoring Lucretia by force seized Sextus Tarquinius as her appearance, so her excellent character incited him. And then they returned to the camp from a nocturnal juvenile play. LVIII. — A few days having intervened, Sex. Tarquinius, unknown to Collatinus, came to Collatia with one companion. There being received by them ignorant of his intention, when after, as then he had been led to the guest chamber, burning

with love — after that all around seemed sufficiently safe and and asleep — his sword being drawn he comes to the — weeping Lucretia, and the breast of the woman being pressed by his left hand, he said: "be silent Lucretia, I am Sex. Tarquinius: a sword is in my hand: thou shalt die, if you send forth a word." When the woman trembling from sleep saw, that she had no power, near imminent death, then Tarquinius began to confess his love, to pray, to mingle threats with prayers, to turn her womanly mind on all parts. When he saw her in fear, and to be inclined not even by the fear of death, he adds to her fear disgrace: he said, that, he would lay a naked butchered slave by her, dead, that she would be said to have been slain in mean adultery. By which terror then as if conquering lust had overcome chastity, and fire Tarquinius had gone away, woman's honor being subdued, Lucretia, sorrowful in the so great evil, sent the same messenger to Rome to her father, and to Ardea to her husband, that they should come with a faithful friend, as there was need of a thing to be made and matured, that an atrocious thing had happened. Spurius Lucretius came with Publicius the son of Volesus, Collatinus with L. Junius Brutus, with whom by chance returning from Rome he had been met by the messenger of his wife. They find the sorrowful Lucretia sitting in her chamber. At their coming tears gushed forth: to her husband asking, "is all well?" she said, "By no means, for what is well to a woman, her chastity being lost: there are marks of another man, O Collatinus, in your bed. But the body only is violated, the mind is innocent: my death shall be a witness. But give your right hands and faith: it is not about to be unpunished to the adulterer: it is Sex. Tarquinius, an enemy instead of a guest, on the former night, being armed by force, took away joy pestiferous to me and him, if ye are men." All give faith in order: they console her weak of mind, by turning the hurt from the one forced, to the author of the crime: that the mind mind is tender of the body

Clearly there was no fault, where there was no intention.